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COMPLETING THE WORK OF THE EMANCIPATOR



Major Charles Young, U. S. A.
Spingarn Medallist, 1916, for distinguished service in Liberia

N. A. A. C. P.
70 Fifth Avenue, New York
March, 1916

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COMPLETING THE WORK OF THE EMANCIPATOR

Six Years of Struggle Toward
Democracy in Race Relations



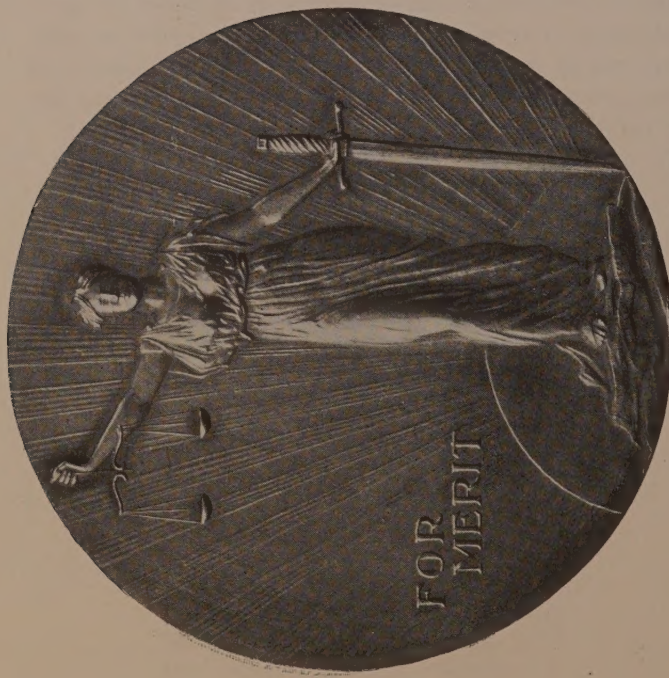
It also appears to me that when prejudices persist obstinately it is the fault of nobody so much as those who make a point of proclaiming them insuperable as an excuse for never joining in an attempt to remove them. Any prejudice whatever will be insurmountable if those who do not share in it themselves truckle to it and flatter it and accept it as a law of nature.

JOHN STUART MILL



Being the Sixth Annual Report of
The National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People, 1915

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National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1915

Section 1. Our Reasons for Being

THE National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was first called into being on the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

It conceives its mission to be the completion of the work which the great emancipator began. It proposes to make a group of 10,000,000 Americans free from the lingering shackles of past slavery: physically free from peonage, mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disfranchisement and socially free from insult.

We are impelled to recognize the pressing necessity of such a movement when we consider these facts:

The lynching of 2,812 prisoners without trial in the last thirty years.

The thousands of unaccused black folk who have in these years been done to death.

The widespread use of crime and alleged crime as a source of public revenue.

The defenseless position of colored women continually threatened by laws to make their bodies indefensible and their children illegitimate.

The total disfranchisement of three-fourths of the black voters.

The new attack on property rights.

The widespread and growing discrimination in the simplest matters of public decency and accommodation.

All these things indicate not simply the suffering of a people, but greater than that, they show the impotence of American democracy.

And so the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People appeals to the nation to accept the clear and simple settlement of the Negro problem, which consists in treating colored men as you would like to be treated if you were colored.


The definite program and purpose of this organization has thus been stated:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People seeks to uplift the colored men and women of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere. It favors, and aims to aid, every kind of education among them save that which teaches special privilege or prerogative, class or caste. It recognizes the national character of the Negro problem and no sectionalism. It believes in the upholding of the Constitution of the United States and its amendments, in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. It upholds the doctrine of 'all men up and no man down.' It abhors Negro crime, but still more, the conditions which breed crime, and most of all the crimes committed by mobs in the mockery of the law, or by individuals in the name of the law.

"It believes that the scientific truths of the Negro problem must be available before the country can see its way wholly clear to right existing

wrongs. It has no other belief than that the best way to uplift the colored man is the best way to aid the white man to peace and social content; it has no other desire than exact justice, and no other motive than humanity."

Section 2. Two Paths of Duty

WO lines of action are necessary for the emancipation of any individual or group or nation.

First and foremost, the unfreed must himself strive, equip himself and advance. *Secondly*, the path before him must be cleared of dangerous and unfair obstacles.

It will not do for the slave or the serf to sit supinely before his obstacles without making an effort to remove them. On the other hand, the modern world is too well aware of the tremendous power of organized society to believe that any individual or group can prevail against it, if the nation is deliberately and consciously determined to oppose advance.


In the United States, therefore, we must ask ourselves so far as the American Negro is concerned, where does the present danger lie? Does it lie in the Negro's refusal to exert himself, or does it lie in the obstacles which are deliberately or thoughtlessly put in his path?

Any fair-minded American can easily answer that the second case is the true one. It has been proven beyond peradventure that the effort of American Negroes in the last twenty-five years to better their condition in all possible ways has been, so far as the experience of men goes, unusual. *Illiteracy* has decreased, *thrift* and *wealth* have increased, *health* has improved, and there has been a notable advance in *self-respect* and *self-expression*.

Not for a moment would we deny or seem to deny the tremendous work of social uplift still to be accomplished from within by a poor and ignorant folk but a generation removed from slavery. The point is, however, that as human improvement goes the American Negro is moving forward with unusual speed and unflinching persistence.

The real danger in the Negro problem lies today not in the apathy and shiftlessness of the Negro but in the way in which his advance and attempts to advance have been met by the nation and the world. These efforts have been met by no decrease in racial prejudice but by an actual increase in its manifestations; by definite proposals for a caste system and by very little disposition to relax disabilities originally invoked against ignorance and inefficiency, but now held in spite of intelligence and ambition.

Section 3. Theory of Inaction

HE attitude of most intelligent people toward this situation falls under one of two heads. Some deny that there is any material or noticeable obstruction to the advance of the colored race in America, which is not the natural difficulty encountered by all rising groups and races. It is difficult to become intelligent, it is difficult to save money, it is difficult to gain respect among one's fellows; but these are all human and natural difficulties. They must not be attributed to race, although racial differences may modify them. What is

needed, therefore, is simply to insist upon striving on the part of colored people and to discourage mere complaint and agitation.

Other people admit and admit frankly that in addition to the natural difficulty that any ignorant class has in gaining a place in the world, the Negro encounters other difficulties on account of race and color; but they say that these racial difficulties are irremovable. Nothing can be done about them. There is no use trying to minimize their influence and at the same time there is no use trying to get rid of them.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People feels that both these classes are wrong.

It is therefore our business *first*, to show the people that race prejudice furnishes real obstructions to human uplift, and, *secondly*, that these obstructions are not necessary, that they are not inevitable, that they are not inherent in human nature, but that they can be successfully attacked by modern and philanthropic methods without endangering real human freedom or real advance of civilization; and that on the other hand, if they are not so met, they threaten the foundations of modern culture; that in fact, every single thing for which the intelligent Negro is today striving is in line with the best thought and best endeavor of men who look forward and upward.

Section. 4 The Proof of the Pudding



ANY will say all this is very fine theory, but as a matter of fact, what are you going to do about it practically? If we knew anything we could do to shake the grip of race prejudice in the United States and in the world, and make it possible for colored Americans to be free and to be men, we would do it; but we have not seen any feasible program.

You have an organization for these ends. You have been at work some seven years. What have you done, and how have you done it, and what do you propose to do?

In making the sixth annual report of the N. A. A. C. P. we are at once keenly conscious of how little we have accomplished compared with our ideals and at the same time we realize that we have done much. We may divide our work into seven lines of endeavor:

1. *Legislation*: The endeavor to correct unfair laws and to prevent the enactment of further unfair laws.

2. *Administration*: To bring about a fairer administration of present laws.

3. *Courts*: To secure individual justice and a proper interpretation of law in the courts.

4. *Slander*: To answer if not to stop the systematic, public slander of a whole race of people.

5. *The Truth*: To make careful investigation of the facts of racial contact in the United States, and to publish the truth about the situation of the colored American, and his difficulties.

6. *The Talented Tenth*: To encourage and recognize distinguished work by men of Negro blood, to broaden opportunity in industrial and professional lines, and to encourage self-help and self-expression.

7. *Organization*: To endeavor to secure as large a number of persons as possible to associate themselves with us in order to help on this work.

Section 5. Legislation

FEW people in the United States realize how persistent and continuous is the effort to curtail even the present rights of colored people by *legislation*. For instance, in the Sixty-third Congress there were no less than twenty bills introduced to restrict the rights of Negroes. These bills advocated:

"Jim Crow" cars in the District of Columbia.

The segregating of employees in the government service from their white fellows.

The forbidding of Negroes to hold commissions in the army or navy.

The making of marriages between white persons and persons of Negro descent illegal.

The exclusion of immigrants of Negro descent, etc.

It required active and sometimes desperate effort to defeat these bills. For the most part Congressmen were indifferent. They said, how does it matter if separate seats in street cars are provided for colored people? Or if colored government clerks work by themselves? They did not at first realize that race mixture is not prevented by making children illegitimate or by rendering the seduction of colored women easy and without its natural penalty.

Such apathy and lack of knowledge had to be systematically attacked. Every one of these bills was a blow not simply at colored people but at the fundamental principles of democracy, the rights of women and children, and decency.

This Association has found that careful scrutiny of bills proposed in Congress must be made if colored people are to be protected. Bills of general application like those for agricultural education, for rural credits, for vocational training, and the like, are continually drawn so that the colored citizens are either entirely shut out from their benefits or come in for a disproportionately small share.

For two years now we have employed two experienced newspaper men to report on all bills affecting colored people and to watch their progress.

Only by constant vigilance have we been enabled so far to circumvent hostile legislation in Congress.

During the whole six years of our existence, we have given a great deal of attention to this work, both in Congress and in the states. We made a hard fight to have Negro schools in the South included in the agricultural appropriations of the Smith-Lever Bill. We have opposed anti-intermarriage bills in California, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Wisconsin. Only in one case, Nebraska, have we lost our fight.

Section 6. Segregation

ONE form of *legislation* which has taken a great deal of our time and attention during the past year, and during several previous years, is the matter of *Segregation*. This is an attempt, usually by city ordinance and sometimes by State law, to define the territory in which Negroes may live. It is, in other words, an attempt to establish a modern ghetto.

The movement began in Baltimore in 1912 and it has spread throughout the cities of the border states. During the past year we have been fighting particularly the ordinances in Baltimore and Louisville and the proposed ordinance in St. Louis.

The real crux of the matter lies in the fact that colored people, increasing in thrift and wealth, have been trying in the last decade to move out of the slums and unhealthy places of the cities into more desirable residential districts. They have been met by the plea that they are undesirable neighbors and that they depress real estate values. Hatred, riot, and even bloodshed have been the result of the controversy and finally the endeavor to prescribe the bounds of habitation by law. There is even a demand, centering in North Carolina, to carry this segregation into the matter of buying farm lands. No clearer cause for the defense of the most elementary rights of Negro American citizens can be presented.

Here is a real test, not only of our democracy but of our sincerity. Strong and greedy forces are behind the segregation movement. Shall not the forces of justice organize and fight in turn?

In Baltimore we have succeeded in defeating two segregation ordinances in the courts and we are carrying a third ordinance to the highest State tribunal. In Louisville our segregation case was lost in the highest court of the State and we are now carrying it to the Supreme Court of the United States. In St. Louis we are trying to defeat the segregationists both in court and in the proposed election.

Section 7. Administration

PERHAPS even more important than the actual law is the way in which laws are administered so far as the colored people are concerned. Laws which upon their faces are quite fair are continually administered so as to discriminate most unfairly against colored citizens. This indeed is one of the chief reasons that this Association and its friends fight all sorts of discrimination, even when there is fairness on the face of the law.

The *disfranchisement* laws of the South are particularly cases in point. They do not in so many words disfranchise colored people but they are administered and can be administered so as to keep the great masses of colored people from having any voice in their own government.

This Association has started an effort looking toward the enforcement of the second section of the *Fourteenth Amendment* to the Constitution which provides for the reduction of representation in Congress for States disfranchising their male citizens.

Especially in the matter of *travel* the Association is endeavoring to make the States and railroads at least live up to the letter of the laws requiring separate cars. An agent has been sent through the Southern States to gather information on present conditions; this matter is being published in *THE CRISIS* and will be laid before the Interstate Commerce Commission and other authorities.

In *education* colored children are discriminated against. During the last year in Indianapolis, colored children have been sent long distances to avoid enrolling them in a nearby public school.

In Carlisle, Pa. a colored boy who had been a second-year high school student at Steelton was refused admission to the white high school. The

colored high school does not offer the work which the boy desires to take.

In Dayton, O., a separate colored school has been organized.

In Cincinnati, O., a second colored school is about to be established.

In several great universities, supported by public funds and public benefactions, well equipped colored students are refused admission, as, for instance, at Johns Hopkins University. Colored doctors are discriminated against in the clinical work required in their university courses. The well known case of Isabella Vandervall who led her class during her whole course at the Woman's Hospital, New York City, illustrates this situation. She was appointed interne at the Syracuse Hospital for Women and Children and then the hospital peremptorily refused to fulfill its contract when they discovered that she was of Negro descent.

In the *civil service* of the United States Government discrimination has been kept up during the past year and unwarranted dismissals from office and refusals to promote have been traced to sheer color prejudice. This is particularly true in the Railway Mail Service and the Post Office Department in general.

The question of *civil rights* brings us repeatedly matters for investigation and protest. Few people realize how common it is throughout the great cities of the North for respectable colored people to be refused accommodation at hotels, theatres and restaurants.

In *crime* or alleged crime we have only to remember that during the last year eighty American Negroes have been lynched without trial by mobs and that during the last thirty years these mob murders have claimed 2,812 victims. How can the American people sit longer silent under such an indictment of their own civilization?

Section 8. Courts

FOR the most part, there are but two practical ways of meeting hostile legislation and unfair administration of the law, and these are through an appeal to the courts and through an appeal to public opinion. From the very first, it has been the policy of this

Association to seek to build up a body of fair *judicial decisions* which should fix beyond question the status of the American citizen of Negro descent. We have had in the past some partial victories: We have prevented the unjust holding of suspects in New Jersey; we have secured decisions against residential segregation in Maryland; and we have won a half dozen minor civil rights cases.

A motion will be submitted some time in January to have the Louisville residential segregation case advanced in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Cases involving the Oklahoma "Jim Crow" car law have been nearly perfected and will be presented to the courts soon.


Fred Brown of South Carolina was wanted on a charge of murder. The Philadelphia Branch took the matter up. He was finally extradited and an effort is being made to defend him in South Carolina.

Our greatest triumph, however, came during the past year in the "*Grandfather*" clause decision of the United States Supreme Court. This case was brought up to the Supreme Court from Oklahoma by the United States Solicitor-General. We were allowed to participate in the case and our President, Mr. Moorfield Storey, filed a brief which was the only brief

submitted by any private individual or organization. The court in its decision held that the "Grandfather" clause was a mere evasion intended to disfranchise colored people and it distinctly affirmed the right of the colored people to vote under the Fifteenth Amendment. This is perhaps the greatest victory for democracy across the color line which has been gained in the last generation.


For the better prosecution of work like the foregoing, a special *Legal Bureau* was established in 1912. For a year it was carried on under the volunteer direction of Mr. William M. Wherry, Jr.; then for next year, 1914, we had the services of a special attorney, Mr. Chapin Brinsmade. The stringency due to the war compelled us to give up Mr. Brinsmade's services with great reluctance, and since then our legal work has been directed voluntarily by Mr. Charles H. Studin and Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn. In addition to these we have had the voluntary services of many distinguished lawyers.

Section 9. Slander

OLOR prejudice flourishes because it is so elusive and indefinite a thing. People grow to hate their neighbors not for carefully stated reasons or carefully investigated facts, but for the very lack of reasons and facts. This makes the power of suggestion and innuendo and *slander* all the more dangerous. A propaganda of this sort against colored people has long been carried on in the United States. It was used to defend slavery; it was used to disfranchise Negroes; and today there is evidence of new life and determination on the part of certain classes of Americans to make Negroes despised and hated. A peculiarly aggravating case of this during the last year has been the picture play called "The Birth of a Nation." Here every resource of a magnificent new art has been employed with an undeniable attempt to picture Negroes in the worst possible light.

Of course, it is difficult under such circumstances to select a feasible method or campaign to counteract the undoubtedly vicious influences of this widely viewed picture. If Negroes and all their friends were free to answer in the same channels, by the same methods in which the attack is made, the path would be easy; but poverty, fashion and color prejudice preclude this. We have therefore sought vigorously through censorship to stop this slander of a whole race. We secured the disapproval of the National Board of Censorship but the Board was reorganized afterward against us. We secured a law strengthening the censorship in Massachusetts, but the censors decided against us. So far we have kept the film out of the State of Ohio, the State of Kansas and out of a number of cities. In a large number of other places we have had important modifications made in the film. In other ways, through newspapers and magazines and pamphlets we have sought to counteract the indefinite but widespread idea that the Negro race is necessarily vicious and incompetent.

Section 10. Publications and Research

GREAT weapon against such indefinite feeling with all its terrible consequences is an appeal to the facts.

With this in mind the Association established the "Department of Publicity and Research" at the very beginning and at the suggestion of the Director began to issue in November, 1910, its monthly organ, *THE CRISIS*. *THE CRISIS* is thus a little over five

years old and on January 1, 1916, became self-supporting. Its gross annual income has increased from \$6,500 the first year to \$24,000 during the year 1915. Its total income, 1910-15, has been \$84,069.55. It has printed altogether 1,490,300 copies of which 1,469,500 have been net paid circulation.

THE CRISIS circulates in every State in the Union, in Europe, Africa and the Islands of the South Seas. For April, 1915, its net paid circulation was as follows: New England, 1,804; Middle States, 6,903; East North Central, 7,730; West North Central, 2,925; South Atlantic, 6,606; East South Central, 1,885; West South Central, 4,056; Mountain States, 797; Pacific States, 933; Insular and Foreign, 882. Total, 33,921.

THE CRISIS has thus become a vehicle by which the facts concerning the Negro problem can be put before a considerable portion of the world.

Besides this the Department of Publications and Research has been a *lecture bureau*, has issued publications, has taken part in general movements and carried on several pieces of research work.

In all, the Director has during the last five years delivered 314 lectures in thirty-one States and three foreign countries before audiences which totaled 138,017 hearers.

Scientific *research* into the problems of racial contact and into the history and condition of the American Negro has from the first been a prime object of this Association. So far, however, no funds have been available.

The Director of this Department has, however, induced various established agencies to finance six larger pieces of research into various phases of the Negro problem. Mr. A. G. Dill has assisted in all of them:

1910—Research into the condition of Negro graduates of colleges throughout the United States; investigation financed by the Slater Fund and Atlanta University; conducted from this office over a period of six months.

1911—Analysis of Census Agricultural figures for the American Economic Association.

Research into Negro common school education, extending over twelve months; financed by the Slater Fund and Atlanta University.

1912—Research into the condition of Negro artisans and trade unions; financed as above, and extending over twelve months.

1913—Research in manners and morals among Negro Americans; financed as above, and extending over twelve months.

1914—Analysis of occupation statistics of the United States Census. Study of economic condition of Negroes for the *Revue Internationale d'Economie Politique*.

Memorandum for United States Commission on Industrial Education.

1915—Researches into African history, extending over years 1913, 1914, and part of 1915.

The Director has written six books and large pamphlets, thirty-three magazine articles and small pamphlets. The books are:

The Quest of the Silver Fleece—1911.

The College-Bred Negro-American—1911.

The Common School and the Negro-American—1912.

The Negro-American Artisan—1913.

Morals and Manners Among Negro-Americans—1915.

The Negro—1915 (Home University Library).

In addition to works written by the Director, THE CRISIS has published three volumes as follows:

Norris Wright Cuney—By M. C. Hare—230 pages—1913.

Hazel—By M. W. Ovington—162 pages—1913.

Prince Hall and His Followers—By George W. Crawford—95 pages—1914.

It has also published four pamphlets, four calendars, three sets of Christmas cards, besides pictures and leaflets. It has sold during the last five years \$4,567.50 worth of books on the Negro problem.

The Director has also co-operated in the following general movements:

In 1911—*The Races Congress*. The Director was one of the two American secretaries for this Congress. He arranged the exhibit for American Negroes; spent three months in London, during which time he helped in the organization of the Congress and in the reception of the delegates; spoke three times before the Congress and in this and other ways helped to bring to the front the race problems of the United States.

In 1913—*The Emancipation Exposition of the State of New York*. The Director was appointed a member of the Commission to carry out this Exposition. Largely through his efforts the Exposition became a serious educational effort without political favor. In this respect it stands in marked contrast to most of the other State expositions.

The Exposition cost \$37,000 and had an attendance of 30,000 people, and was honestly and efficiently conducted.

In 1914—*Child Welfare Exhibits*. The Director acted as Chairman of the Child Welfare Exhibits in two chief sections of Negro population—San Juan Hill and Harlem.

In 1915—*The Washington Pageant*. This Pageant was given before audiences aggregating 12,000 people.

Section 11. General Publicity



ONE of the most effective ways of bringing our work and our ideas to the attention of the public has been by mass meetings, conferences and speaking tours.

Our Association began with the New York conference of 1909 with such distinguished speakers as Dr. William Hayes Ward, Professor E. R. A. Seligman, Professor John Dewey, Judge Wendell Phillips Stafford, Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Professor John Spencer Bassett, and the Honorable Albert E. Pillsbury.

In 1910 a second conference was held and permanent organization effected. Since then similar conferences have been held in Boston, 1911; in Chicago in 1912; in Philadelphia in 1913, and in Baltimore in 1914. Beside these general conferences hundreds of other meetings have been held both by the National Association and by its Branches. In addition to the lectures referred to in the last section, speaking tours in the interest of the Association have been undertaken by Dr. M. C. B. Mason in 1912 and 1913, covering the Middle West and South; by Dr. J. E. Spingarn in 1912, 1913, 1914 and 1915, covering parts of the South and most of the larger cities of the Middle West; and by Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard in 1914, covering St. Louis, Kansas City, Topeka, Indianapolis and Cleveland. Miss Mary Childs Nerney, the secretary, also made a trip through

the Middle West in 1915. Miss Mary W. Ovington, Mrs. Butler R. Wilson and others have made shorter tours.

Large numbers of newspaper stories, leaflets and pamphlets have been distributed throughout the nation from headquarters reaching hundreds of thousands of copies since the existence of the Association. Special investigations have been made for us by distinguished writers and social observers. Memorials have been laid before Legislatures and Congress, and widespread appeals made by letter.

Section 12. The Talented Tenth



S far as means allow we try to discover talent and encourage ability among young colored folk. Their achievements are carefully noted in *THE CRISIS* which issues an annual education number. In one case we discovered a young artist in color of remarkable ability and started him on his career by introducing him to instructors and holding an exhibition of his work on Fifth Avenue.

In 1913 Dr. J. E. Spingarn gave the Association a gold medal of the value of \$100 to be awarded annually for the highest achievement made by an American Negro during the preceding year in any field of elevated or honorable human endeavor.

The first Spingarn Medal was presented at the annual meeting on February 12, 1915, at Ethical Culture Hall, New York City, by Governor Whitman of New York to Professor Ernest Everett Just, head of the Department of Physiology in Howard University Medical School. Prof. Just was recommended by men of the highest standing in both races for his general research work in biology and for raising the standards of medical education for his own race. The committee making the award were: Bishop John Hurst, Chairman; ex-President William Howard Taft, Mr. John Hope, Dr. James H. Dillard, Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard.

The second Spingarn Medal was presented February 22, 1916, to Major Charles Young, U. S. A. The presentation was in Boston by Governor McCall of Massachusetts and was for distinguished service in developing the constabulary and the roads of Liberia. The same committee acted as in the previous year.

A scholarship of \$200 was awarded the Pittsburgh Branch for its activity in raising funds for the Association in 1915. It is to go toward the college expenses of the most promising colored high school graduate chosen by the branch.

Section 13. Propaganda



O f equal importance with our effort to carry out the objects of this Association with the means at hand is our effort to let the public know and understand our objects and gain their co-operation. The matter, therefore, of increasing our membership is of prime importance. Most white friends of this cause already belong to so many organizations that they hesitate to take new responsibilities financially or otherwise.

The colored people, on the other hand, are comparatively new to the matter of organization, although organized life among them has vastly increased in efficiency and intricacy during the last ten years.

The growth of our membership has been as follows:

| | |
|------|-------|
| 1912 | 329 |
| 1913 | 1,100 |
| 1914 | 3,000 |
| 1915 | 6,000 |
| 1916 | 9,500 |

Our method of propaganda is simple. First, through THE CRISIS and public meetings we directly invite interested persons to join the Association. The membership fees are graded as follows: Donors pay \$100 to \$500 per year; sustaining members, \$25 per year; contributing members, \$2 to \$10 per year; associate members, \$1 per year.

Approximately 75 per cent of our membership are one-dollar members; 10 per cent, two-dollar members; and 14 per cent pay from five dollars up.

Another and more effective way of gaining membership and spreading an idea of our work is through appeals in specific cases. For instance, hostile legislation is threatened in Congress: appeals are made directly to members of Congress in Washington and also to the constituents of such members as can be influenced. The local branches are written to and they in turn secure a large number of communications sent direct to Congressmen. If there are no local branches this agitation is an excellent occasion for starting a branch or a local.

Special literature is sent out and numbers of letters written. During the last year 15,868 individual letters were sent out from the executive offices and 19,435 circular letters. A total of 7,293 packages of literature containing 67,546 pieces were also distributed. Telegrams, letters to newspapers, personal appeals, special meetings and conferences, all these methods are used not only to forward our great objects but to gain sympathizers and members.

The center of the work of propaganda and of the main activities of the organization, except those carried on by the Department of Publications and Research, is the Executive Offices, of which the Secretary has charge.

Our first regular secretary, Miss Frances Blascoer, was succeeded by Miss Mary W. Ovington and Miss Mary Childs Nerney. The resignation of Miss Nerney in 1916 was received by the Board of Directors with deep regret. When Miss Nerney joined the Association we had four branches and three hundred members. At present we have sixty-seven branches and locals and nearly ten thousand members. No small part of this increase has been due to Miss Nerney's energy and devotion.

Section 14. Branches



WE have at present fifty-four branches, nine locals and four college chapters—sixty-seven organizations in all, varying from twenty to eleven hundred members. The following are the twenty largest branches: District of Columbia, 1,164; Boston, 764; Pittsburgh, 636; Baltimore, 540; St. Louis, 350; Columbus, 300; Cleveland, 300; Chicago, 275; Des Moines, 222; Indianapolis, 200; Providence, 200; the two Kansas Cities, 175; Northern California, 150; Cincinnati, 140; Orange, 140; Toledo, 140; St. Paul, 135; Buffalo, 100; Philadelphia, 100; Springfield, O., 100. The nine locals are organiza-

tions affiliated with us which will eventually be transformed into branches as they show activity and efficiency.

It is difficult in small space to show how far reaching and efficient the work of these branches has been. A brief resume of their work follows:

1. The *Albuquerque, N. Mex.*, Branch (Mr. T. C. Woodland, President; Mr. A. L. Mitchell, Secretary) has a membership of 51 and has been engaged in quieting race troubles at Gallup, N. Mex., in keeping out the photoplay, "The Birth of a Nation," and in eliminating race distinctions in the city directory.

2. The *Alton, Ill.*, Branch (Dr. George L. Samuels, President; Mrs. Anna Gillis, Secretary), with forty members, has held a series of meetings and protested against "The Birth of a Nation" film.

3. The *Baltimore, Md.*, Branch with 540 members (Mr. W. Ashbie Hawkins, President; Miss Ethel Lewis, Secretary) has held five public meetings and a concert. It has joined in protests against hostile legislation in Congress and has taken up the matter of discrimination at Johns Hopkins University and in the social service bureau.

The Baltimore Branch has been especially active in bringing the matter of segregation to the courts. One case was won last year, a second case was started but had to be dropped on account of technicalities, and a third case has been argued before the Court of Appeals and awaits decision.

4. The *Boston, Mass.*, Branch (Mr. Joseph P. Loud, President; Mr. Butler R. Wilson, Secretary) has since November 9, 1914, added 324 new members, making a total of 764 of whom 615 have paid their membership dues. 150 parlor meetings have been held and two mass meetings.

The mass meeting at Tremont Temple, March 7, was a protest against segregation of colored people in the federal departments at Washington. Among the speakers were Congressman Madden and Dr. J. E. Spingarn.

On May 2 a meeting of protest against the photoplay, "The Birth of a Nation," was held at Tremont Temple. Dr. Charles W. Eliot, Dr. Samuel McChord Crothers and other distinguished speakers took part. The campaign of which this meeting was a part resulted in an amended censor bill for the City of Boston, but the newly appointed censors refused to prohibit the film.

At the succeeding city election three city counsellors who opposed the film were re-elected by large majorities. The Mayor of Quincy who favored it was defeated. State Senator Doyle who was unusually offensive was also badly beaten at the primaries.

Lawrence, Springfield, West Springfield, Everett and Chelsea refused permits to the film while the State Chief of District Police refused a license for any Sunday exhibition in the State. The whole campaign united the colored people and brought to our assistance thousands of friends.

On June 14 a reception in honor of Miss Elizabeth C. Putnam was held with addresses by Mr. Garrison, Mrs. Edwin D. Mead, Dr. Ernest Gruening, Dr. Horace Bumstead and others.

The Secretary compiled and published a pamphlet entitled "Fighting a Vicious Film" which has been widely circulated.

With this also has been sent out a pamphlet containing addresses by

Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard and others, and a pamphlet by Richard P. Hallowell generously contributed by Mrs. May Hallowell Loud.

These pamphlets were sent to the various branches of the N. A. A. C. P., to two hundred and sixty-seven high schools in Massachusetts and to city officials and various state officers. Altogether 4,500 copies were distributed.

The Boston Branch has also helped to fight "The Birth of a Nation" in Providence and New Bedford.

The net income of the Boston Branch for four years has been as follows:

| Remitted to New York. | | Expended in Boston. | |
|-----------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|
| 1912 | \$412 | 1912 | \$81 |
| 1913 | 780 | 1913 | 365 |
| 1914 | 525 | 1914 | 596 |
| 1915 | 842 | 1915 | 1,871 |

From November 11, 1914, to December 6, 1915, a total of \$3,013.12, including balances from the previous year, has been available. Of this \$842 has been sent to the central office, \$997 used in the general work of the Boston Branch, and \$545.94 in special educational work. Office expenses, rent, etc., have taken \$175, leaving \$298.18 on hand.

5. The *Buffalo, N. Y.*, Branch with 100 members (Mr. John E. Brent, President; Miss Amelia G. Anderson, Secretary) has held six public meetings.

6. The *Cairo, Ill.*, Branch (Mr. A. A. Martin, President; Miss Evelyn L. Lyons, Secretary) has 20 members.

7. The *Carbondale, Ill.*, Branch (Rev. A. W. White, President; Mr. Frank B. Jackson, Secretary) has 31 members.

8. The *Chicago, Ill.*, Branch with 275 members (Judge E. O. Brown, President; Mr. T. W. Allinson, Secretary) has taken cognizance of grievances in connection with Post Office employees and residential segregation at Oak Park.

9. The *Cincinnati, O.*, Branch (Mr. William Stevenson, President; Mrs. Andrew W. Lee, Secretary) has 140 members.

10. The *Cleveland, O.*, Branch with 300 members (Rev. H. C. Bailey, President; Mr. S. P. Keeble, Secretary) has co-operated in protests against two picture films, secured the dismissal of a teacher in the public schools for insulting language to colored pupils, compelled a restaurant keeper to remove discriminatory signs, and held four large mass meetings and five parlor meetings. \$165 was raised during the year.

11. The *Columbus, O.*, Branch with 300 members (Hon. George D. Jones, President; Mrs. Minnie B. Mosby, Secretary) has secured the dismissal of certain policemen for acts of oppression against colored people and has been especially successful in keeping the film, "The Birth of a Nation," out of the State of Ohio. Several mass meetings have been held.

12. The *Dayton, O.*, Branch with 75 members (Mr. James C. Farrow, President; Mrs. D. Richardson, Secretary) has held eleven meetings and has been trying to stop attempts at segregation in public schools. \$96 has been raised during the year.

13. The *Decatur, Ill.*, Branch (Mr. Houston Singleton, President; Miss Marie A. Gray, Secretary) has 50 members.

14. The *Des Moines, Ia.*, Branch (Mr. S. Joe Brown, President; Mrs. Jessye E. McClain, Secretary) has 222 members. It has held three mass meetings, presented a play and given thirty-three CRISIS subscriptions to prominent white men and women. Good publicity work has been done through the newspapers. An anti-intermarriage bill was defeated in the Legislature and an insulting film modified. An effort is being made to stop discrimination in local theatres. The Governor of the State and many high officials are members of this branch.

15. The *Detroit, Mich.*, Branch (Mr. William Osby, President; Miss Hattie Dixon, Secretary) has 90 members. This branch made a determined and successful fight against an anti-intermarriage bill. Five hundred copies of the *Detroit Journal* which contained an able article were distributed and a public debate held. A Lincoln-Douglass celebration was held and five thousand copies of Judge Brown's speech distributed. A determined fight against discrimination in theatres and moving picture shows has been prosecuted. "The Birth of a Nation" film was modified and minors excluded.

16. The *District of Columbia* Branch (Hon. Archibald H. Grimké, President; W. B. Hartgrove, Secretary) occupies a unique position and is really a *national vigilance committee* to watch legislation in Congress and lead the fight for Negro manhood rights at the capital of the nation. The branch raised last year \$1,746 of which \$825 was sent to the National Office directly and \$525 also in memberships.

This branch has made a special effort to get a large and representative membership. A systematic canvas of the whole city through churches and clubs, lodges and other social units has been made until the membership has been brought up to a total of 1,164.

Two public meetings have been held during the year, one to celebrate the birth of Wendell Phillips, and a number of branch and committee meetings. Among the specific things accomplished have been:

The forcing of a department store to cease discrimination in the public dining room.

The bringing of a white criminal to justice who seemed about to escape. The hastening of the slow completion of the new colored high school and the broadening of its plans.

A forestalling of various movements towards segregation in the civil service.

Efforts which led to the enforcement of the eligibility rules of the civil service.

Work against residential segregation.

17. The *East St. Louis, Ill.*, Branch (Dr. W. H. A. Barrett, President; Miss Mary V. Campbell, Secretary) has 18 members.

18. The *El Paso, Tex.*, Branch (Mr. Jasper B. Williams, President; Mr. F. D. Clopton, Secretary) has 45 members and has been protesting against discrimination in certain stores and in street cars.

19. The *Evansville, Ind.*, Branch (Rev. W. D. Shannon, President; Mrs. Logan H. Stewart, Secretary) has been opposing vicious film plays. Its membership is 25.

20. The *Harrisburg, Pa.*, Branch (Dr. C. L. Carter, President; Dr. Stephen J. Lewis, Secretary) has 103 members. It has held regular quarterly meetings and one mass meeting with Miss Caroline M. Dexter

as speaker. On November 17 a memorial to the late Booker T. Washington was held. A case of theatre discrimination has been carried by the Branch through the local courts, then to the State Superior Court, and finally to the Supreme Court. The case was won in the local court but lost in the two upper courts. Another case of discrimination in a high school is now in court. The "Birth of a Nation" picture film has been opposed quietly.

21. The *Indianapolis, Ind.*, Branch (Mr. R. L. Brokenburr, President; Mrs. S. B. Henderson, Secretary) has 200 members.

22. The *Jacksonville, Ill.*, Branch (Rev. E. L. Scruggs, President; Mrs. Laura Allen, Secretary) has 33 members.

23. The *Kansas City, Kan.*, Branch (Prof. John A. Hodge, President; Mr. George K. Williams, Secretary) has 75 members.

24. The *Kansas City, Mo.*, Branch with 110 members (Dr. Howard M. Smith, President; Mr. H. O. Cook, Secretary) has raised \$259. It has been fighting an agitation to interfere with Negro home owners in the Linwood District. It succeeded in having some objectionable features cut from the "Birth of a Nation" film.

25. The *Los Angeles, Cal.*, Branch (Dr. Charles Edward Locke, President; Mr. E. Burton Ceruti, Secretary) has 52 members.

26. The *Louisville, Ky.*, Branch (Dr. A. C. McIntyre, President; Mrs. W. Nolan King, Secretary) has been seeking to punish the members of a lynching mob and especially pushing the segregation case which has now reached the Supreme Court of the United States. Their Committee of One Hundred has raised \$596 for this latter case. The Branch has aided in the organization of a "Boosters' Club" to encourage colored people to patronize colored business enterprises.

27. The *Minneapolis, Minn.*, Branch (Dr. S. N. Deinard, President; Mr. Gale P. Hilyer, Secretary) has 70 members.

28. The *Muskogee, Okla.*, Branch (Mr. J. R. Stewart, President; Mr. W. E. Brown, Secretary) has 50 members.

29. The *Newark, N. J.*, Branch (Mr. R. W. Stewart, President; Mr. V. B. Powell, Secretary) has had two mass meetings and has been opposing the "Birth of a Nation" film. They were partially successful but were overcome by court injunction. The branch has 100 members.

30. The *New Orleans, La.*, Branch (Mr. H. C. Casa Calvo, President; Mr. Louis G. King, Secretary) was organized in July, 1915, and has 20 members. They are planning their first mass meeting.

31. The *Northern California* Branch (Mr. Walter A. Butler, President; Mrs. H. E. De Hart, Secretary) has entertained a number of the visitors from the East during the Exposition. They have 150 members.

32. The *Branch of the Oranges, N. J.* (Rev. R. G. Waters, President; Mrs. Lottie M. Cooper, Secretary) has held several mass meetings and protested against film plays. It has 135 members.

33. The *Peoria, Ill.*, Branch (Mr. C. H. Ruff, President; Mrs. B. H. West, Secretary) has 25 members.

34. The *Philadelphia, Pa.*, Branch (Mr. Ellwood Heacock, President; Mr. Isadore Martin, Secretary) has 100 members and has held several public meetings. It tried hard to get an equal rights bill through the Pennsylvania Legislature but the bill was defeated. The branch united with other organizations in trying to prevent "The Birth of a

Nation" from being shown. Three white men were, through efforts of the branch, convicted for crime against a friendless colored girl. The attempt to get the Wanamaker store to refrain from discharging its colored help in the dining room was only partially successful.

35. The *Pittsburgh, Pa.*, Branch (Mr. William M. Randolph, President; Miss Jennie M. Proctor, Secretary) has 636 members and gained the prize scholarship of \$200 for the largest amount remitted to the National Office between September 1 and November 28. One of the largest department stores has been induced to stop discrimination in its dining room and the "Boys' Brigade" to adopt a fairer attitude toward colored boys. Protests have been sent to certain publishers against misrepresentation of the facts of history in their books. A number of public meetings have been held and publicity secured in the local papers.

36. The *Portland, Ore.*, Branch (Mr. E. J. Minor, President; Mrs. E. D. Cannady, Secretary) has protested against the "Birth of a Nation" film and held one public meeting. The Branch has 49 members.

37. The *Providence, R. I.*, Branch (Dr. J. J. Robinson, President; Miss Reberta J. Dunbar, Secretary) has held five public meetings and is endeavoring to secure a civil rights clause in the new State constitution now being drawn up. The Educational Committee has been distributing facts concerning the Ku Klux Klan and has been fighting "The Birth of a Nation." The membership of the branch is 232.

38. The *Quincy, Ill.*, Branch (Mr. Wilson Cobb, President; Mrs. Florence E. Cook, Secretary) has 20 members and raised \$28.80 during the year.

39. The *St. Joseph, Mo.*, Branch (Rev. G. L. Prince, President; Mr. W. F. Neil, Secretary) has 55 members.

40. The *St. Louis, Mo.*, Branch (Mr. Gustavus Tuckerman, President; Mrs. H. A. Smith, Secretary) has been chiefly occupied in fighting a proposed segregation ordinance. In the primary election it secured pledges from candidates by letter. Of the twenty-eight members of the Board of Aldermen, twenty-three thus declared themselves as not favoring residential segregation. The Branch has joined in protests against proposed legislation in Congress and several mass meetings have been held.

41. The *St. Paul, Minn.*, Branch (Hon. J. A. Burnquist, President; Miss Charlotte Gillard, Secretary) has had two mass meetings and has protested against the "Birth of a Nation" film. The new Governor of the State is President of the Branch. Its membership is 135.

42. The *Seattle, Wash.*, Branch (Mr. F. Fritz Keeble, President; Mrs. W. L. Presto, Secretary) has 34 members. It held a mass meeting with Senator Jones as speaker.

43. The *Shreveport, La.*, Branch with 75 members (Mr. George Lewis, President; Mr. A. W. Hill, Secretary) has held two public meetings.

44. The *Springfield, Ill.*, Branch (Major G. W. Ford, President; Mrs. Alice E. Williams, Secretary) has 33 members.

45. The *Springfield, O.*, Branch (Dr. S. S. Jordan, President; Miss M. Sula Butler, Secretary) has 100 members. This branch has had objectionable features removed from a film play and held two mass meetings.

46. The *Tacoma, Wash.*, Branch (Mr. S. A. Johnson, President; Mr. Allen Mack, Secretary) succeeded in stopping the "Birth of a Nation" film from being shown in the city. It has held two public meetings. The Branch has 45 members.

47. The *Talladega, Ala.*, Branch has a membership of 15.

48. The *Terre Haute, Ind.*, Branch (Mr. John E. Roundtree, President; Mr. David Jenkins, Secretary) has 45 members.

49. The *Toledo, O.*, Branch (Mr. Albertus Brown, President; Mrs. Della H. Fields, Secretary) has held three mass meetings, one in honor of Hon. Charles A. Cottrill, for four years collector of the Port of Honolulu. One objectionable film play was suppressed. The membership of the Branch is 140.

50. The *Topeka, Kan.*, Branch (Hon. Arthur Capper, President; Mrs. Julia B. Roundtree, Secretary) has succeeded in keeping "The Birth of a Nation" out of the State. The Governor of the State is President of this Branch. It has 53 members.

51. The *Trenton, N. J.*, Branch (Rev. John A. White, President; Mr. T. Edward Kinney, Secretary) has 50 members.

52. The *Twin City* Branch of Champaign and Urbana, Ill. (Dr. H. E. Rowen, President; Mrs. I. B. Thompson, Secretary) has 27 members.

53. The *Vincennes, Ind.*, Branch (Mr. Richard Nash, President; Mrs. M. J. Burress, Secretary) has 18 members.

54. The *Wilmington, Del.*, Branch (Dr. George J. Sykes, President; Miss Alice G. Baldwin, Secretary) has 240 members. The Branch has held six mass meetings and has secured an ordinance in the Wilmington City Council to prohibit moving picture plays likely to stir up bad feeling between the races. A committee on housing conditions is at work.

55. The *Baltimore County, Md.*, Local (Rev. William Brown, President; Miss Amanda Carroll, Secretary) has held four public meetings and six parlor meetings. It has distributed copies of THE CRISIS and has 31 members.

56. The *Danville, Ill.*, Local (Mr. Eli Brown, President; Miss Florence C. Pamplin, Secretary) has 25 members.

57. The *Denver, Colo.*, Local (Mr. George W. Gross, President; Mr. L. H. Lightner, Secretary) has 35 members.

58. The *Galesburg, Ill.*, Local (Mr. Axel Gabrielson, President; Mrs. M. E. Watkins, Secretary) has 23 members.

59. The *Gary, Ind.*, Local (Judge William M. Dunn, President; Mrs. Elizabeth Lytle, Secretary) succeeded in excluding two objectionable film plays and prevented a colored boy from being unfairly discharged from his position. Race discrimination in public schools has been investigated. The membership of the Local is 30.

60. The *Key West, Fla.*, Local (Mr. Charles F. Dupont, President; Mr. B. V. Gonzalez, Secretary) was organized in December, 1915, and has 15 members.

61. The *Milwaukee, Wis.*, Local (Mr. John A. Hall, President; Miss Marie A. Burgette, Secretary) has 20 members.

62. The *Mounds, Ill.*, Local (Mr. S. J. Carr, President; Professor O. L. Mitchell, Secretary) has 15 members.

63. The *Walla Walla, Wash.*, Local (Mr. A. R. Baker, President; Mr. W. E. Cranshaw, Secretary) has a membership of 12.

64. The *Cornell University, N. Y.*, Chapter has not yet held its annual election.

65. The *Howard University, D. C.*, Chapter with 135 members (Mr. George E. Hall, President; Miss Eulalia Lane, Secretary) helped in se-

curing participants for the pageant, "The Star of Ethiopia," and joined in a protest against "The Birth of a Nation." The Chapter held a number of meetings for discussion. Professor William Pickens and Mr. Charles Edward Russell have addressed the Chapter and a memorial meeting for the late Booker T. Washington has been held.

66. The *Lincoln University, Pa.*, Chapter (Mr. Clarence W. Wood, President; Mr. G. C. Branch, Secretary) has 27 members.

67. The *Virginia Union University, Va.*, Chapter (Mr. Joseph C. Carroll, President; Mr. George W. C. Brown, Secretary) entered protest against "The Birth of a Nation."

Section 13. The Vision



THESE facts in a general manner illustrate the kind of work which the Association is doing. We are trying to stop the increase of discrimination against colored people and as far as possible to do away with present discriminations. We hold hard and fast to the fundamental ideas of American democracy, viz., that all citizens must be equal before the law and that no special privileges shall be granted on account of race or color.

We have refused for a moment to contemplate a great democracy like this, with all its wealth and power and aspiration, turning back in the onward furrow when once it has set its hand to the plow.

Great as are the forces of reaction and race and class hatred at all times, and bitter as is the concerted and organized effort to increase color prejudice in this land and beat back the struggling sons of the freedmen, we are still confident that the inherent justice and sense of fair play in the American people both North and South is never going to permit the past crime of slavery to be increased by future caste regulations leading straight to oligarchy and spiritual death.

If it be not possible in the twentieth century of the Prince of Peace for a cultured people to extend justice and freedom to men whom they have cruelly wronged, but who, despite that, have done their hard work, fought their battles, saved their Union, upheld their democratic ideals, and showed themselves capable of modern culture—if it be not possible for America to yield these men what they have justly earned and deserve, then America herself is impossible and the dreams of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln are vain.

But it is not so.

We can be just, we can be law-abiding, we can be decent. All we need to know and realize is the truth about this failure to live up to our ideals.

The ideas of this Association are directly in line with the development of human civilization. If in this Republic we are going to set aside a part of our citizenship for special treatment, this means a step backward in the development of the world.

Moreover, our treatment of colored races is an example to the world for the future treatment of the great mass of colored folk in Africa, Asia and America. We have a chance to take high ground and to fight in a noble cause for humanity.

Section 14. Money Matters

Naturally, the great difficulty in carrying out any movement of this sort is the money difficulty.

This Association raised this year for its general expenses (outside of THE CRISIS) \$13,094.36. It spent, including depreciation on furniture, \$12,751.62. The revenue and expense accounts follow:

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

REVENUE AND EXPENSE ACCOUNT, 1915

| EXPENSES | | REVENUE | |
|------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------|
| Salaries | \$6,158.14 | Donations | \$7,308.16 |
| General Expense | 2,010.42 | Memberships | 5,621.47 |
| Printing | 1,625.17 | Profit on Pins and Badges... | 121.29 |
| Traveling Expense | 1,355.85 | Sale of Literature..... | 43.44 |
| Postage | 941.68 | | |
| Legal Redress | 412.27 | | |
| Prizes | 186.35 | | |
| Bad Debts | 15.25 | | |
| Depreciation on Furniture... | 46.49 | | |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | \$12,751.62 | | |
| Net Gain | 342.74 | | |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | \$13,094.36 | | \$13,094.36 |

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 30, 1915

| ASSETS | | LIABILITIES | |
|-------------------------------|------------|------------------------------|------------|
| Cash | \$1,899.16 | Owe Crisis | \$ 79.63 |
| Accounts Receivable (Pins) .. | 53.50 | Owe for Prizes to Branches.. | 243.85 |
| Pins and Badges on hand.... | 216.56 | Special Funds: | |
| Furniture | 883.36 | Maclean Fund | 273.35 |
| | | Federal Aid | 196.63 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | \$ 792.46 |
| | | Net Worth | 2,260.12 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | \$3,052.58 | | \$3,052.58 |

Certified by

FRANCIS J. BATCHELDER,

Certified Public Accountant,

220 Broadway, New York.

During the existence of the Association we have raised funds as follows (not counting the income of THE CRISIS):

| | |
|--|-------------|
| 1911 (From May 1 to December 31) | \$ 5,108.90 |
| 1912 | 11,815.15 |
| 1913 | 16,841.73 |
| 1914 | 14,030.70 |
| 1915 | 13,094.36 |

A total of..... \$60,890.84

The Association should have in 1916 a total income of at least \$15,000. Of this \$7,000 should come from memberships and \$8,000 from donations. Surely there can be no more effective way of helping the establishment of justice among men than by contributing to this budget.

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